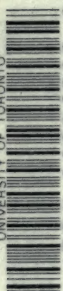


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GUIDES FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 24

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND  
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# A GUIDE TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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# A GUIDE TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

## (i.) CLUES.

WRITERS on the history of education have taken at least three very different standpoints from which to view the nature, scope, and purpose of their subject. Some have seen its chief purpose in the edification of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and have regarded the study as one of exclusively professional interest. The main concern of others is the evolution of educational theory; for some of this second group the range of their survey is as wide as human culture itself, with small reference to time or place. A third group, probably the smallest of the three in number, understands by the term "history of education" the history of certain concrete institutions (in the main, schools and universities) which have been charged with specific duties at particular times in particular places. These last writers are more concerned about whatever has been done with an educational purpose than about what individual thinkers believed should have been done. They

seek to elucidate facts before opinions, and opinions which never affected practice do not concern them.

Writers of the first group seem to have found no successors, although their books are still current. Since they sought to edify, they are naturally the least historical. They remained indifferent to the claims of research and even to those of revision; they were content to repeat oft-told tales. As they saw it, their subject consisted of a series of biographies which furnished inspiration to professional teachers, and possibly also some useful hints on professional procedure. In their pages, the "educators" accomplished or failed to accomplish more or less self-imposed tasks quite apart from the forces and occurrences of the daily life which surrounded them. R. H. Quick's *Essays on Educational Reformers* is perhaps the best book of this kind. It had the great merit of arousing an interest in its general topic. But it gave some countenance to the confusion existing in many quarters between the history of education and that of opinion about education, between the tale of what has been and the story of what some thinkers held ought to be—in short, between fact and speculation. The use of the *Essays* as a textbook by lecturers and examiners, in spite of Quick's express disclaimer, intensified the confusion.

Only those opinions respecting the aims and methods of education which have affected actual

institutions, or have shaped a tradition which has guided the labours of others than the original thinker, belong to the history of education. Distasteful as the fact may be to the literary mind, Joseph Lancaster's exertions are more significant in educational *history* than is John Milton's *Of Education*. The enthusiasts over Richard Mulcaster must not be shocked if their hero, far-sighted pedant as he was, is judged to be of small significance in his own period.

This is not to deny the great power of ideas. They may lie dormant for centuries and then come to fruitful life. But in the interval they are either forgotten altogether, or concern biography rather than history. Ideas concerning education, and the actual process as it has been conducted, are by no means identical. More unfruitful thinking has probably been expended on this subject than on any other.

Yet the history of education would be unintelligible if it made no reference to those ideas, principles, projected reforms, and the like, which have passed from the thinker's study, or from the national life, to the educator's practice. Such principles of course figure largely in books which treat the history as mainly concerned with the general development of educational theory, or which present the theory as it governed practice during a given period in a particular country or



countries. In the nature of things, the writing of a book of this kind demands the active exercise of criticism and the employment of an historical method; at least, the success of the criticism is conditioned by the historical validity of the propositions criticized. Outstanding works of this nature are Mr. Oscar Browning's *Introduction to the History of Educational Theories*, Dr. James Welton's article *Education (Theory)*, in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and Professor John Adams' *Evolution of Educational Theory*. Monographs on individual thinkers and on restricted periods of time, such as Mr. W. H. Woodward's books on education during the Renaissance, and Professor Foster Watson's on Juan Luis Vives, appear to be more successful because based on surer ground. But the monographs taken in sum do not cover the whole history of education from Greek times onwards, nor the period within which English schools have existed.

A well-known manual, Professor Paul Monroe's *Textbook in the History of Education*, without claiming to present the evolution of educational theory, yet sketches a programme which, if successfully accomplished, would certainly tell that story, and incidentally set forth the development of those institutions which were intended, at particular times in particular places, to realize the theory. But *qui trop embrasse, mal étreint*.



The *Textbook* sweeps into its net not only Greek, Roman, and Western education, from the earliest to the present times, but it also includes Chinese education and such highly conjectural matter as the up-bringing of primitive man. The writer seems to hesitate between two points of aim: to be in doubt whether to write the history of all human culture *ab initio*, or that of the theory of education as it is held to-day in Europe and America.

The attempt at comprehension is continually baffled by the want of sufficient concrete material on which to base generalizations deserving a place in a "theory." Lacking such material, some writers make sweeping statements difficult to affirm or deny with any conviction. Others, particularly those who derive their material from German sources, endeavour to attain precision by turning from institutions to the work of individual men, and labelling the latter as *naturalistic*, *realistic*, *humanistic* (or some other adjective with a redundant *-ic*). This is surely the most misleading way in which to epitomize a living person—an educator least of all. It leads to this sort of thing: "Montaigne was not a humanist, nor a humanistic realist, nor a sense realist, nor a naturalist." Imagine the elusive man of the *Essais* competing for a place in a schoolboy's collection of skewered beetles!

John Locke especially suffers from such treatment. The labellers find great difficulty in select-

ing the appropriate ticket for him and, apparently in despair, decide that "Disciplinarian" must serve. They or their disciples then deduce from the label that Locke founded the "faculty psychology" and the allied educational doctrine of "formal training." Thence it is an easy step to misrepresent him as holding that it does not matter *what* you teach, but *how* you teach it. To assert that Locke was indifferent to the claims of knowledge, as such, is to certify that *Some Thoughts concerning Education* has not been read.

Mr. Crump<sup>1</sup> says of Buckle that he "never understood that before we argue from the past, we must discover it." The third and the least occupied standing-ground from which to survey the past of education is that of the concrete matter of fact, the actual form and functioning of those institutions (universities, colleges, schools, etc.) by means of which former generations under the stress of their daily life have each sought to mould the future of their immediate successors. Neither the biographical nor the purely philosophic method suffices for this purpose, which can only be attained through careful research conducted on historical lines. One writer is pre-eminent upon this vantage ground, the late Mr. A. F. Leach, to whom all students of the past of English education are most deeply indebted both for his example

<sup>1</sup> *The Logic of History* (in this Series), p. 9.

and for his achievement.<sup>1</sup> Professor Foster Watson has done a great deal of work of a similar kind which has been published in periodicals, in pamphlets, and in books such as *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, and *The Old Grammar Schools*.

But England compares poorly in this respect with some of the neighbouring lands. Our school and college histories are numerous enough; but they too easily drop to the level of anecdote, personal or architectural, and too often remain silent on matters which would indicate advance, or the reverse, in educational theory or practice. In fact, much spade-work must be done before we can hope to possess a conspectus of what English schools have attempted or accomplished between the early medieval period and the present day. When that work is surveyed in the light of contemporary life, social, political, and economic, we shall be in a position to generalize about the English theory of education.

In the broad sense, the history of education is the history of the development of the ideals, principles, and customs of social life which make the civilization of a nation or of a continent. In the more restricted sense, it is a history of schools, universities, and similar institutions by means of

<sup>1</sup> A complete bibliography of Mr. Leach's studies of English schools is printed in his *Schools of Mediæval England*, 1915.

which societies strive to prepare their children and adolescents for the social life of the future. But since these educational agents and their administration are in the long run dependent upon the conception of civilization which is entertained by the community, a satisfactory history of educational institutions and of their administration must include due reference to these greater, more influential factors. Yet the risk of unwarranted generalizations being great, the history of the actual institutions must always be borne in mind as a mode of "control," a check upon the hasty reasoner.

A proper adjustment of the broader and the more restricted factors will yield a history of education as it is understood by the third group of writers specified above. Schools, universities, or similar expressly didactic bodies, have long possessed a public or *quasi*-public character, and in recent times they have become more and more public in respect of initiation and management. They belong, in fact, to a department of State, and their history is not a study for teachers or administrators only, but also for citizens in general, whether parents or not. The political standing of educational theory, addressed either to State purposes or to the greatest good of the individual, was obvious to Plato and to Aristotle; its history cannot be devoid of general interest. Ignorance



of educational history is responsible for not a few prejudices, which still flourish, and for the cordial reception accorded, upon their periodic revival, to ancient and fallacious nostrums.

The intimate connection between the life of a nation and the forces which really educate its children, between whatever is vital in school experience and in experience outside the school, and the lack of vitality in education where these two are sundered, bring into view limits within which the historian of education may profitably labour. Even if the necessary details were well ascertained and abundant, it is not possible to make a concrete, homogeneous story of education as it has been practised, let us say, in England, China, and ancient Persia. To add "Primitive Man" to this list, seeing how very little we know about primitive men, is merely to confuse fact and fancy. Schools and their administration depend for spiritual no less than for material support upon the every-day life of the community which they serve; as that life differs from nation to nation, so will the up-bringing differ which the schools are intended to assist.

On the other hand, the Western nations have not developed their culture in complete isolation, each separately for itself. Thanks to Greece, to Rome, and to the Christian Church, their educational institutions own a common origin which ensures a

certain unity in their history. Divergences appeared with the birth of nations, but even in the extreme case of our own country, these are not so wide as to forbid the interplay of ideas. In a word, the historian of education is driven to study his subject under national or racial categories, just as is the historian *tout court* and for the same reasons. In like manner he must also take account of those foreign influences which have determined practice within the area, national or other, with which he is primarily dealing.

#### (ii.) THE FIELD.

Taking the foregoing considerations as a guide, the history of English education will present some such outline as follows. The origin of the existing educational systems of Western Europe is twofold. Its impetus and its machinery are derived from the desire of the Christian Church to organize instruction in the Christian Scriptures, at first in the Latin versions, later in the original tongues. Hence the cathedral school, from which both the grammar school and the university were in process of time evolved. But a satisfactory study of the Latin Scriptures and of the Latin Fathers (the two together constituting "divine letters") could only be ensured by the study of "Grammar" in the medieval sense—that is, of the Latin

language and literature. That study, however, was an integral part of the rhetorical education which flourished under the Roman Empire, the culture which secured the survival of much of the pre-Christian civilization, Greek and Latin. The continued existence of that civilization through the first Christian centuries involved more than mere proximity or even contact between the Christian and non-Christian societies. St. Jerome, the editor of the Latin Vulgate, had studied under Aelius Donatus, the pagan author of a Latin primer which remained an accredited textbook for nearly a thousand years. St. Augustine of Hippo was a professor of rhetoric at Milan before his conversion. Boethius, one of the latest embodiments of the ancient culture, a writer whose works on philosophy and mathematics were universally recognized textbooks throughout the Middle Ages, was not a Christian.

Thus, while the Church provided the motive and the apparatus of public education, the substance of much of the instruction thus given under the Church's direction was derived from the culture of Rome and, through Rome, of Greece. As time passed, the influence of Greek thought increased, till it profoundly affected the spiritual elements of Western culture and Western education as a consequence. The curriculum based upon the rhetorical education of Rome kept its place for

centuries, notwithstanding its pagan element, which, however, was a source of discord long-continued and at times acute. Some churchmen repudiated the curriculum for that reason, and would eliminate Latin classical literature from the course of study. Others would combine the reading of the Latin hymn-writers and Christian divines with that of Cicero and Virgil. This mingling of Christian and non-Christian was a favourite device throughout Northern Europe during the later sixteenth century, its purpose being described as the attainment of *pietas litterata*. The reading recommended for Colet's school of St. Paul's is an illustration. Besides "good literature both Latin and Greek," "good Latin authors of chosen poets and orators," the boys were to study "specially Christian authors that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Latin, other in verse or in prose." As instances Colet names Lactantius, Prudentius, and other hymn-writers of the early Christian centuries, with his own contemporaries, Erasmus and the "good old Mantuan" of Shakespere, Baptista Mantuanus.

Meanwhile, Christian theology and philosophy were heavily indebted to Greece, and in particular to Aristotle, whose influence was fundamental. Nor were men wanting who recognized and valued the great human elements in both the ancient literatures. The tradition that St. John Chrysostom



was a constant student of Aristophanes, and that we owe the fragment of the poet's work which has survived to the saint's care, is at least evidence of the merging of the one culture in the other. Throughout the so-called "Dark Ages," students of both classical literatures were never absolutely lacking. Indeed, it was a weakness of the medieval scheme of instruction that it placed implicit confidence in its predecessor, so far as matters purely secular were concerned. From the fourth to the seventh centuries the remnants of the ancient learning were garnered into text-books and superficial encyclopædias, which continued to hold the field down to and beyond the invention of printing. Their topic was the Seven Liberal Arts,<sup>1</sup> the full curriculum which represented what is to-day sometimes called "a general education."

The twelfth century, an outstanding period in other respects, was especially noteworthy in the history of education. The intercourse between Europe and the East, which had revealed to the Christian world something of the science and scholarship of the Muhammadan peoples, now bore fruit. The century was one of great intellectual activity. The earliest Western universities came almost imperceptibly into being; the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> The "liberal arts" were grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, forming the Trivium; and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy—a very fair summary of an "all-round" instruction.

much-frequented University of Paris was devoted to theology and dialectic determined the course of the universities for some four or five centuries, and made an end of the literary revival which was taking place in the twelfth century at Chartres and at other French cathedral schools.

There was one branch of medieval education which is of more than passing interest, since its principles are as applicable to-day as ever. This is what is known as the education of chivalry, the up-bringing of the man of action as distinct from the scholar. In the earlier stages, this education was at once professional and social; it included physical training, the use of arms, and a cultivation of the social amenities in accordance with the prevailing standards. Its tourneys were the occasion of international gatherings, conducted under an etiquette and a code of rules equally familiar to Frenchman, Italian, Spaniard, Fleming, Rhineland, and Briton, with opportunities of intercourse between the men and women of various nationalities. This education of the socially distinguished class underwent considerable modification after the revival of learning. While the earlier military and bodily exercises remained, particularly the training of parade horsemanship, the pupils of French *académies* and German *Ritterakademien* were free to choose from a curriculum which included modern languages, history, geography,

and mathematics. In spite of numerous attempts spread over some hundred and fifty years, England never acclimatized these aristocratic schools. It is no accident that modern studies were established in the ordinary French and German schools long before they secured admission here.

The great virtue of the chivalric education and of the later "doctrine of courtesy" was that it endeavoured to promote not one type of excellence—the scholarly—but many. While schools and universities taught the scholarly person, the castle and the academy trained the men of action and of affairs, the soldier and the military engineer, the traveller and the student of politics. This variety of training deserves special study in communities whose public law requires all its members, whatever their capacity or incapacity, to undergo schooling, but takes scanty notice of difference of endowments, assuming that the only type worth educating is the scholarly.

The schools of the Church had small concern with such elementary instruction as teaching to write, and still less with reading in the vernacular or "casting accounts," neither of which arts was "scholarly." Yet such instruction was to be had in a variety of quarters; hence the comparatively large circulation in England of popular works in English, when the invention of printing made a larger circulation possible than could be effected

through cheap manuscripts of poor quality. The rapid vogue of printed books implies readers who demanded them; obviously, the mere increase in the number of books does not of itself create readers. Anchoresses, some chantry priests, bell-ringers, "lone women," and other private agencies, furnished much of the requisite teaching. While England remained an agricultural country, such casual opportunities and the teaching often given in the lower forms of the grammar schools sufficed. But with the advent of industries and commerce, a demand arose for ability to read and write in the mother-tongue and to cast accounts. The fifteenth century was such a period in England; and provision then began to be made by the express foundation of schools, and by the extension of the existing facilities for obtaining elementary instruction as the term is understood to-day. During the next two centuries, this particular provision was further extended, many grammar schools of recent and of ancient origin adding either a class for "petties," or a "petty school" in which little children were taught to read in English, while the elements of arithmetic were taught to boys who were judged "best fitted for trades"—that is, who were not "meet to be bred to learning."

From his own day onwards, Quintilian was considered the standard authority on the aims and method of rhetorical education as it was practised



under the Roman Empire. That tradition never died out, and the readers of the *Institutio Oratoria*, albeit in an incomplete text, were found up and down Western Europe at all times between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries. But a fresh impetus was given to the study of the book by the discovery, in 1416, of a complete text; and the knowledge of the ancient educational ideals was extended by Guarino's translation (1411) into Latin of a work entitled *περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*, "On the Guidance or Upbringing of Children," a treatise ascribed to Plutarch. The latter work was well known in this country through more than one English version; many of its *dicta* became the commonplaces of writers on its subject, a fact of which the opening pages of Rousseau's *Émile* are witness.

The earliest apostles of the New Learning looked to the ancient literatures as the sources of a humanist education; the learning of the Greek and Latin languages was a necessary preliminary to the study of their literatures, but subsidiary to it. Then came the pedants with their "doctrine of imitation." The quintessence of Latinity, according to these, was to be found in the prose of Cicero. The ability to write good Latin prose was a marketable commodity in the bureaux of Europe; and since good Latin prose meant Ciceronian prose, Sturm and the schoolmasters restricted boys

to its exercise. This meant in effect concentrating a boy's energy on compiling commonplace books, collections illustrating rules of composition, exemplifying figures of speech, and pigeonholing phrases which might on occasion be foisted into the boy's own compositions. In due course "manuals" made even the genuine labour of collecting needless, and rote-learning occupied more and more of the school hours. Notwithstanding the ironic protests of Erasmus, the study of literature was overlaid by a laborious and pedantic devotion to terms of expression and the acquisition of an art which in time lost its bread-and-butter value, while the schools marked time for generations. The effective beginning of the modern study of science, the systematic application of observation and experiment, belongs to this same sixteenth century, and great strides were made; yet the courses of study pursued in universities were only indirectly affected by the fact, and English schools were not affected at all.

The immediate consequence of the Reformation was not favourable to public education; universities and schools suffered a declension which persisted for more than a generation. It is true that the Protestant reformers from Luther and Knox onwards projected many schemes, mostly of a far-reaching kind; but very few of these secured even a partial realization. The most successful schools

of the period following the beginning of the Reformation were the Jesuit colleges which, to adopt present-day phraseology, belonged to the spheres of secondary and university education. Although Protestant principles virtually demanded access for all to elementary instruction at least, no general or widely national scheme came into operation which made such access possible.

One feature was common to both Catholic and Protestant projects and working systems—namely, a determination to secure uniformity in education no less than in religion. The strictest orthodoxy was required from candidates for the teacher's licence; and those who ventured to teach without that licence were in England liable to penalties whose severity increased between the reigns of Edward VI. and Anne. The consequence was that numbers of the youth of this country, instead of enjoying the advantage of a national education, were forced to seek its supposed equivalent in an alien culture—the Catholics in Spanish Flanders, France, or Spain, the Puritans in Geneva, Zurich, or Holland. The disability under which nonconforming, and therefore unlicensed, teachers laboured was not removed before the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 drove many Protestant Dissenters from their posts in schools and universities. Some of these set up establish- ✓

ments of their own which, giving effect to a project then much discussed, combined school and university teaching. The earliest "academies," as these were called, gave a general education suitable to laymen, although their primary purpose was to give that preparation for the ministry which was no longer open to the Dissenter at Oxford or Cambridge.

The comprehensiveness of their courses of study, and more especially the welcome which they gave to modern studies, made the Dissenting academies a force which assisted in influencing public opinion in the direction of breaking down the age-long monopoly of Latin and Greek. In this reform of curriculum, the private schools (whose numbers increased when the embargo upon unlicensed teaching was removed) were even more influential than the academies. The latter eventually confined themselves to educating ministers, and in that capacity some are still at work.

Observers of the religious and social life of France, Germany, and Great Britain, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, were stirred to strenuous efforts for reform amongst the mass of the population of those countries. In France, St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle founded for that purpose the Institution of the Brethren of the Christian Schools, an organization which, after proving the feasibility of a system of elementary



instruction upon a national scale, has grown into a teaching body whose operations within the field of purely elementary teaching are world-wide. In Germany, chiefly owing to the work of A. H. Francke, the Pietist body erected a whole hierarchy of schools, primary, higher primary, and secondary, with classes for training teachers. All these revolved about Francke's work as a parish clergyman and professor in the University of Halle, then recently founded to favour modern studies. In England, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge devoted its earliest efforts to the encouragement of Charity Schools. Under the Society's guidance and active co-operation, these schools were founded in most of the London parishes, whence the movement spread to England, Wales, Scotland, and North America. Like the similar French schools of M. de la Salle, the Charity Schools demonstrated the possibility and the national advantage of establishing a large number of schools locally managed, yet deriving their strength from a powerful voluntary society interested in giving the mass of the people an education based upon religious principles. Reading and writing in the vernacular, and the useful art of summing, made up the curriculum on the "secular" side.

The Charity Schools rapidly secured public support; and during Anne's reign their extension

promised to furnish in point of numbers a national provision of schools for the poor under voluntary management, and open to all who were not members of a non-conforming religious body. But with the accession of the Hanoverian kings the growth of these schools fell off. In spite of faults of method and a very meagre curriculum, the principles on which they were grounded were much appreciated, as the similar schools established by Dissenters go to prove. But the Charity Schools were distinctively "church" in teaching and in management; and whereas church principles were favoured under Anne, they were suspect under the German Georges. The parish clergy, whose sympathies were assumed to be Jacobite, were virtually all-powerful in the charity schools of their parishes. As a consequence, the Government looked askance at schools which might be instilling disaffection or worse. Their denominational character, and their supposed hostility to the reigning dynasty, proved fatal to the Charity Schools at a time when the proscription of Dissent and the profession of "High Church and Tory principles" were losing popular support.

Yet the eighteenth century, which saw the experimental psychology of Locke become the accepted creed of philosophy, was a period especially favourable to the idea of popular education on the great scale. Given a belief that the human

✓ mind develops solely under the stimulus of its surroundings; that in Helvetius's phrase, "l'éducation peut tout"; and given also a considerable body of goodwill on the part of the governors towards the governed, then plans for universal education naturally follow. In all such schemes, Locke's psychology was taken for granted, and its application to education as expounded in Rousseau's *Émile* became general after the publication ✓ of that work in 1762. France, Germany, and Austria showed special interest in such theorizing and its practical bearing on national life and government. In those countries the growth of liberal opinion showed itself hostile to the ecclesiastical control of the public schools. La Chalotais not only successfully attacked the Jesuit Society, which was the most influential body of teachers then existing; he also proposed a system of State schools for France, which was, in effect, that of the present-day *école laïque*, a school taught by laymen who give moral and civic instruction, but leave religious teaching to the family and the priest. La Chalotais' plan was incorporated as a matter of course, like Locke's philosophy, into many of the projects which solicited attention during the progress of the French Revolution.

In no country did the question of religious education form so persistent a difficulty as in England. With every desire to establish a uni-

versal scheme of elementary instruction, of which religion should form the foundation, Englishmen of the early nineteenth century were unable to reconcile such a system with the individual's religious liberty. The compromise effected in 1870 had been proposed in 1803 by Joseph Lancaster, who very probably derived the notion of undenominational religious teaching from the German, J. B. Basedow, a plagiarist from La Chalotais in many things, but original in this.

Yet English popular education did not stand still during the eighty-odd years which followed the fall of the Bastille. Philanthropic persons and societies started Sunday-schools and Schools of Industry. The Churchman, Andrew Bell, and the Quaker, Lancaster, by introducing the Mutual or Monitorial System, showed how a teaching body might be extemporized in numbers sufficiently great to give teaching of a sort to a great part, if not the whole, of the child population. The work of these two men was the subject of a somewhat bitter controversy between Church and Dissent, the outcome of which was the foundation of the National Society (1811) and of the British and Foreign School Society (1814), representing the Church and the undenominational positions respectively.

The success which marked the labours of Pestalozzi in Switzerland and the adoption of



Pestalozzian methods by Prussia drew the attention of sundry English students of foreign educational practice to the popular systems of those countries, and thus strengthened the conviction that a national scheme was expedient in England also. Parliament voted a grant of £20,000 in 1833, to be renewed annually, for building school-houses in places not provided, or insufficiently provided, with "National" or "British" schools. The allocation of the money was committed to the two societies, the State hoping thus to avoid compromising itself in respect of the "religious difficulty." The institution, six years later, of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education relieved the two societies of the function of public almoners. In 1856 the oversight of State-aided elementary education was vested in the Education Department, instituted for the purpose in that year. The changes did not disturb the "Voluntary System" of public elementary education, of which the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society were the two chief representatives.

About this time propaganda was started in England with the purpose of making known Friedrich Froebel's principles of infant education. These had never won official countenance in Germany; and when Froebel died, in 1852, his kindergarten schools had for some months past been prohibited in Prussia, whose Government was still

apprehensive of anything which recalled the year 1848. The first kindergarten to be established in this country was opened at Hampstead in 1854, and in the course of the next thirty years kindergarten schools became well known throughout England. They suffered at first, as such exotics commonly do, from a too literal application of the founder's *dicta* and practices; Froebel's teaching was persistently misunderstood and misapplied in English infant schools under the Education Department. But in course of time the system was Anglicized (or Americanized), and, at length, with the aid of certain Froebelian societies, the kindergarten took its place as a recognized first stage in middle-class education. Many thousands of children have received their earliest public instruction in these schools.

The public schools and the two ancient universities, which had suffered eclipse during the eighteenth, entered upon a new career of prosperity with the nineteenth century. Butler at Shrewsbury and Arnold at Rugby brought new ideals of education and new methods of instruction not only into their respective schools, but, through them, into all the public schools and into English education generally. Arnold in particular must be credited with raising the moral level in schools which had tended to become notoriously unsatisfactory in that respect. The period covering

Arnold's reign at Rugby and the ten or twelve years following his death saw the creation or the revival of more than a dozen schools of this standing. From the first, they made modern studies a part of the curriculum, and their teaching and organization were much more elastic than had hitherto been the case. The ancient foundations themselves also took part in this movement towards greater freedom and an ampler life.

At Oxford and Cambridge attention was given to modern studies, and the ancient exercises leading to the first degree were frankly recognized as long out of date, written tests and serious *viva voce* examinations replacing sham "disputations" conducted in dog Latin. But an effect of these reforms was still lower to depress the university and to exalt the college organizations. Their curricula and methods, very different from the formal scholasticism of the university exercises, had been for long the real instruments of Oxford and Cambridge education.

The government of the colleges was strictly clerical, and the heads of colleges formed the governing bodies at both universities; the estrangement from Oxford and Cambridge of the nonconforming Englishman, which had begun in the sixteenth century, was now complete. But the growing political power of the Nonconformists ✓ and the increase in their wealth, which followed

the great industrial and commercial expansion of George III.'s time, did not dispose them to accept this situation without question. Proposals for reform had arisen within the universities themselves and the movement in favour of doing away with clerical and other privileges grew steadily in volume and strength. As a result, the Royal Commissions of 1850-2 and the legislation of 1854-6, 1871, and 1877 combined to destroy the clerical monopoly; and the close system which allowed scholarships and fellowships to be confined to particular schools, corporations, and individuals gave place to open competition and a scheme more truly national in range.

The widespread demand for instruction of a university kind led to the University Extension movement. Cambridge, and Oxford a little later, conducted classes outside their own precincts. These classes, which in time became the parents of yet other universities, were in some places supported by the municipality, in others by organizations of women or of working men. Whereas in 1829 there were but two universities in England and Wales, in 1909 there were eleven. The increase was not merely a numerical one; the new institutions greatly added to the number of studies which could be regarded as of university rank, and also threw open their doors to women. This last novelty was the logical consequence of the great



improvement in the education of girls which, beginning in 1843, as an attempt to give women a better preparation for the profession of teaching, led step by step to the broadening of the woman's educational opportunity generally.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 creating School Boards was "a white stone" in the path of a controversy which had certainly not become less acrimonious in and out of Parliament during the twenty years immediately preceding that date. A series of Royal Commissions, conducted on exhaustive lines, had surveyed in turn the two ancient universities, the public schools, and the endowed schools. The public education of the bulk of the population was inquired into by the Newcastle Commission of 1858-61, whose labours were crowned by Lowe's mischievous New or Revised Code of 1862. Examination, the panacea administered by that document, was at that time a favourite specific in all grades of education. The Act of 1870 proved to be an ineffective compromise on the "religious difficulty"; but it conceded the principle that elementary instruction at least was a public service, a responsibility of the State, a service in whose benefits all were qualified to share without in return accepting the *status* of beggars waiting upon the nation's charitable impulses. ✓

The increasing power of the School Boards, and their very natural desire to effect for secondary

education what they had achieved for the humbler grade, extended the operation of this principle. But the immediate result was dire confusion, whose elements were many. Amongst them may be named the failure of the "voluntary system" to keep pace with the constant demands made upon it by the rivalry of the rate-supported board schools, the overlapping of elementary and secondary instruction, the severe competition which the old foundation schools had to face from the "higher grade schools" of the School Boards—a competition in which the former were handicapped by the lowering of their fees by the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the Charity Commission. There was also uncertainty as to the sphere which should be allotted to technical instruction, a branch of public education then administered and sometimes very vigorously "pushed" by the County Councils. An inquiry into the provision for secondary education and its rational administration became imperative. The Bryce Commission, to which the inquiry was entrusted, reported in 1895; its recommendations greatly influenced the legislation of 1899 and 1902. The Board of Education Act of 1899, which came into operation in the final year of the century, created a central authority over all grades of public instruction, university education not entirely excepted. The Education Act of 1902 added local

education authorities to the central authority created in 1899, these local bodies having within their own territories a jurisdiction as comprehensive as that of the Board of Education itself.

The Act of 1902 made the English State responsible for English education in all its grades. It also virtually abolished the characteristically English "voluntary system," to which during two centuries the nation, and particularly its poorer members, owed so great a devotion of zeal, labour, and money.

### (iii.) GUIDE POSTS.

Since a nation's education is an intimate, however well defined, part of the national life, the student of its history cannot confine his attention to books or documents which are expressly concerned with education. All historical writing has some bearing upon his subject; and the bearing may be great where the writing describes political, social, or economic development. But any list of books inserted here must necessarily be restricted in scope and quantity; books of the kind just indicated must be taken for granted. The Teachers' Training Syndicate of the University of Cambridge publishes a good working hand-list of books, British and foreign, which deal with education, its history included. The *Cambridge*

*History of English Literature* (vol. ix., pp. 568-574; vol. xiv., pp. 590-610) contains bibliographies, chiefly of "sources," which afford much material for the study of English education of the periods 1660-1750 and 1750-1902 respectively. Save exceptionally, works named in these collections are not mentioned here: neither is it proposed to indicate editions of educational classics. Paul Monroe's *Textbook in the History of Education* gives bibliographies, chiefly American. The student would naturally consult the subject catalogues of the British Museum Library, the London Library, and similar lists.

When the whole field of educational history from, say, the fifth century is included, it is impossible to set down an exhaustive catalogue of "sources," not only because of their number, but on account of their extraordinary variety of origin. Official publications naturally take first place. For modern times, these are of course best represented by the reports of their own activities made by central and local authorities, by the statutes, regulations, and prospectuses of schools, minutes of their governing bodies, university and college statutes, and the like. The reports of the various Royal Commissions appointed during the past seventy years to consider all grades of English education are especially valuable, although their excursions into the remoter history of schools are



not always happy. For the Middle Ages, the source of similar information is to be found in ecclesiastical documents, such as the decrees of synods and councils, episcopal and other records, monastic annals, and, at a later time, the proceedings of town councils—in short, whatever is material to the story of the social life of the past. Some of this matter is to be found in various volumes of the Rolls Series, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, in Wilkin's *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*; and for Tudor and Stuart times, in Anthony Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons . . . of the Church of England*. An investigation of the "Ancient Correspondence" in the Public Record Office would probably throw light upon the extent, possibly also on the origin, of vernacular instruction during the medieval period.

Fields such as these have been gleaned by the late A. F. Leach, and the results are garnered in his *Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909*, a book which is most useful for periods preceding the seventeenth century. Leach's spade-work, published in such books as *Early Yorkshire Schools* and in the *Victoria County Histories*, has put all students of the subject under an incalculable debt, while it has shown how a history of national education in the true sense should be studied.

But official documents often tell not what was done, but what authorities either thought ought

to be done, or what it was hoped might be done. They are useful so long as we can establish some sort of "control" in respect of them. Sturm's *De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis* (1538) and *Epistolæ Classicæ* (1565) have been quoted over and over again in textbooks as providing authoritative accounts of the actual course of instruction followed in the Strasbourg Gymnasium. But the truth is, that these quotations really describe counsels of perfection. A full report on the work of the school in 1556, drawn up by the second master, shows that what was done attained a humbler level than Sturm desired to reach.

A "control" of official prescriptions and descriptions may be sought in a great variety of quarters, amongst which may be named memoirs, controversial pamphlets, sermons, prefaces, and the correspondence of scholars, ecclesiastics, and others who, at one time or another, were associated with public instruction. Material of this kind sometimes turns up in unexpected places. For example, John Wallis's account of his education at school and university (1625-1640) is to be found "spatch-cocked" into Thomas Hearne's edition of *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, vol. i. 1725, a book which ostensibly should have nothing to say upon events later than the days of the first Edward. The Preface to the *Compleat Works*, 1719, of the non-juror John Kettlewell tells of

public education as it was in the later seventeenth century; that of J. T. Desagulier's *Course of Experimental Philosophy*, published in 1734, throws light upon the intellectual interests of London at that date. Discursive reading and a commonplace book are useful adjuncts to more systematic research. The classics of education, if only by their adverse criticism, may contribute to our knowledge of what was done in their day.

Checks upon official documents may sometimes be found in the histories of particular colleges and schools; but English books of this kind too often smother the history of education in a welter of anecdote which seldom illustrates anything more specific than human nature. The careful scholarship which French piety lavishes on whatever belongs to the national history is not wanting when the history is that of *collèges* or *lycées*, or the educational institutions of a city or provincial town. Illustrations are numerous. Gustave Carré's *L'enseignement Secondaire à Troyes du Moyen Age à la Révolution* (Paris, 1888), a well-documented study, is conspicuous amongst them on account of the attention which it bestows upon the highly important work of the French Oratorians, thus extending its interest far beyond the bounds of Troyes. For German education the student may consult some "numbers" of the *Pädagogisches Magazin*, edited by Friedrich Mann

and published by Beyer and Sons, Langensalza. It is a practice of German and Swiss schools to include in their annual reports short monographs by members of their staffs; occasionally a master chooses a subject connected with the history of the school and contributes matter not generally accessible.

Of books which range over long periods of educational history, one of the most comprehensive and very good of its kind is Carl Adolph Schmid's *Geschichte der Erziehung vom Anfang an bis auf unsere Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1884-1902, in five volumes. But its kind is not good. Schmid and his collaborators try to cover an enormous field, from primitive man to the foundation of the Girls' Public Day School Company, and thence onward to the changes initiated by Wilhelm II. The existence of such a book demonstrates the merely rudimentary stage of development attained by the study; and this in turn gives countenance to all sorts of sweeping and ill-justified generalities. A. T. Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars . . . from the Christian Era to the Council of Trent*, in two volumes, 1867, is uncritical, and must be read with that defect in view; but it abounds in material of great value to the discriminating reader who can "verify" such references as it gives.

Since the curriculum in this country was predominantly classical down to the nineteenth century,



the student will be helped by Sir J. E. Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*, from the sixth century onwards. Two chapters in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (vols. ix. and xiv.) treat of English education from 1660 to 1902; this work and the companion, *Modern and Medieval Histories*, also contain chapters and parts of chapters which bear upon the history of education. The writer may, perhaps, be permitted to mention his *A Short History of Education*, recently published by the Cambridge University Press. *The History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland*, by James Grant (1876), was projected as a work in two volumes, of which only the one dealing with the burgh schools appeared. Professor John Edgar's *History of Early Scottish Education* (1893) closes with the Reformation. Professor John Strong has written *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland* (1909). Friedrich Paulsen's two excellent volumes, *Die Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen u. Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zu Gegenwart*, 1896, are by far the most valuable of German books on their subject.

For periods of time less than those covered by the foregoing, the following books may be named:

(1) *Greek, Roman, and Early Christian Periods.*—*The Schools of Hellas*, 1907, by Kenneth J. Freeman, is an excellent book on Spartan and Athenian

education as revealed in Greek literature and art. J. Drever's *Greek Education*, a small book, deals with a larger subject. *Roman Education*, by A. S. Wilkins, contrives to be full and pregnant within the limit of one hundred pages. The transition from the rhetorical education of the Empire to that of the Church is described in H. J. Leblanc's *Essai historique et critique sur l'Étude et l'Enseignement des Lettres profanes dans les Premiers Siècles de l'Église*, Paris, 1852, and in Miss Geraldine Hodgson's *Primitive Christian Education*, 1906. The true sources for the history of Greek and Roman education lie in the excavations of the archæologist, and in the two classical literatures. For those who prefer to study the latter in translation, Paul Monroe's *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period* is a useful compilation which includes an author so late as Quintilian.

(2) *Medieval Period*.—The period deserves much closer study than it commonly receives, since the larger features of the existing system originated within it. The following will be found helpful;

M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, 1905, is a fine example of French historical scholarship, which incidentally assists the study of the obscure problems presented by the early Irish scholars, their devoted missionary labours and their services to education.

A. Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen Age*, 1895. (Fifth to sixteenth centuries) J. B. Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, 1877.

A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Mediæval England*, 1915.

H. S. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, 1885.

H. S. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 1889, etc.

C. Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au Moyen Age*, 1850; *MSS. Latins pour servir à l'Histoire des Doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Notices, vol. xxii., 2.

Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 1895.

R. S. Rait, *Life in the Mediæval University*, 1912.

A. O. Norton, *Mediæval Universities in Harvard Readings in the History of Education*, 1909.

Charles Jourdain, *Mémoires sur l'Education des Femmes au Moyen Age*, 1890.

T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College from 1382*, 1892.

Books not primarily directed to educational history, yet very helpful:

R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, 1884; *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, 1912.

H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, 2 vols., 1911.

S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 2nd ed., 1845.

L. Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism* . . .  
A.D. 500 to A.D. 1500, 1896.

A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society, 1892); *Franciscans at Oxford* in P. Sabatier's *Franciscan Essays*, vol. i., 1912.

Thomas Wright, F.S.A., *A Volume of Vocabularies, Anglo-Saxon and Old English*, 1873-82, and other books by this author.

T. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft in Early England* (before 1066), Rolls Series, 35, i-iii, 1864-6.

R. Steele, *Mediæval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus*, 1905.

F. J. Furnivall, *The Babees Book: Manners and Meals in Olden Times*, E. E. Text Soc., No. 33, 1868.

See also books by Cardinal Gasquet, Mr. G. G. Coulton, Miss A. Abram.

For chivalric education, consult

Charles Mills, *History of Chivalry*, 2 vols., 1825.

F. Warre Cornish, *Chivalry*, 1901.

Lacurne de Sainte Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*, 3 vols., 1781.

A very useful book is by Robert, *Les Écoles et l'Enseignement de la Théologie pendant la Première Moitié du 12<sup>e</sup> Siècle*.

(3) *Post-mediæval Period*.—

J. A. Symonds, *The Revival of Learning*, new ed., 1900.



J. Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 8th ed., 2 vols., 1901. Trans. by S. G. C. Middlemore, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 2 vols., 4th ed., 1898.

J. H. Lupton, *Life of Dean Colet*, new ed., 1909.

P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, 1914, and, *passim*, the invaluable *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodamensis*, 3 vols., 1906-1913, of which Mr. Allen is editor.

F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus*, translation with commentary, 3 vols., 1901-1919.

A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1906.

E. T. Campagnac and K. Forbes, *Sadoletto on Education*, 1916.

L. Massebieau, *Les Colloques scolaires du 16<sup>e</sup> Siècle et leurs Auteurs (1480-1570)*, 1878.

F. Collard, *La Pédagogie de Sturm in Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à C. Moeller*, Louvain, 1914.

Consult also the works of W. H. Woodward and Foster Watson.

Society of Jesus, The.—It is impossible even to attempt a bibliography here. A short list of the chief authorities is given by Thomas Hughes in his *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, 1892. *The Ratio Studiorum* and other authoritative documents of the Society relating to schools form vols. ii., v., ix., and xvi. of the

*Monumenta Germanicæ Pædagogica*, a collection whose contents are not exclusively German.

The curriculum which the supporters of courtly education aimed at setting up, the curriculum which in principle at least the foreign "academies" adopted, is nowhere better described than in the Lansdowne MS., ascribed to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and printed by the Early English Text Society under the title *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. Courtly education as conceived by the French Oratorians is described in Gustave Carré's book already mentioned, and in C. Hamel's *Histoire de l'Abbaye et du Collège de Juilly*, 2nd ed., 1868.

The actual organization and management of English schools in the seventeenth century and the method of teaching then employed are very fully described and discussed in the *Ludus Literarius* (1612) of John Brinsley, and in Charles Hoole's *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660). Both have been edited recently and furnished with bibliographical notes by Professor Campagnac. Contemporary practice in Catholic countries is described in Professor Corcoran's *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching*, 1911.

The historical significance and the intrinsic value of the writings of the Gentlemen of Port Royal make them of a wider interest than a purely national one. They are sympathetically portrayed by Mr. H. C. Barnard in *The Little Schools of Port*

*Royal* and *The Port Royalists on Education*. Similarly, Comenius, in virtue of the influence which he exercised through his numerous and very widely circulated school-books, is European, not Czech merely, and never German, although he has been widely studied in Germany. Dr. Keatinge's translation, *The Great Didactic*, and the late Professor S. S. Laurie's *John Amos Comenius*, are well known. A more considerable work is J. Kvačala's *J. A. Comenius, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Vienna, 1892. The same author contributes a study of the Czech reformer to vols. xxvi. and xxxii. of the *Mon. Germ. Pædagogica*. J. Guibert's *Histoire de S. Jean Baptiste de la Salle . . . fondateur de l'Institut des Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*, 1901, describes the early stages of a great movement intended to provide primary instruction to classes which were very generally neglected in seventeenth-century Europe. The book contains a useful list of "sources." Gabriel Compayré's *Histoire critique des Doctrines de l'Éducation en France depuis le 16<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 1879, is a well-known book of reference. A. Pinloche, *La Réforme de l'Éducation en Allemagne au 18<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, is an excellent study of certain abortive experiments characteristic of the eighteenth century, and instructive for all time. C. Hippeau, *L'Instruction publique en France pendant la Révolution, Discours et Rapports*, 1881, and E.

Allain, *La Question d'Enseignement en 1789 d'après les Cahiers*, 1886, *L'Œuvre scolaire de la Révolution*, 1789–1802, 1881, provide material for a study of an important period in the history of public instruction. Some of the exceedingly significant *Cahiers* addressed to the États Généraux (*Cahiers des Sénéchaussées et Baillages*) on the subject of education are printed in the *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860* (1879–1912), under the heading “Instruction publique,” in vol. vii., pp. 395 ff. Allain has also written *L'Instruction Primaire en France avant la Révolution*. On this subject, the student should consult the following volumes of the *Revue des Questions historiques*, viz. xi., xii., xvii., xxxiii.

A very full bibliography of the sources of English educational history from 1750 will be found in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. xiv., pp. 590–610. The *Quarterly Journal of Education*, 1831–5, in ten volumes, which was published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, is an interesting indication of the channels through which foreign principles and forms of administration percolated to English thought concerning national education.

#### (iv.) A HINT TO THE NOVICE.

Circumstances rather than desire sometimes compel those whose historical knowledge is limited



or shadowy to study educational history. In such cases, ignorance is not always a barrier to prejudice. It may therefore not be altogether inopportune to recite certain platitudes which are very familiar to more experienced students of the past. In the first place, it is not true that Wisdom and Virtue were born in our time; to a future generation, we also shall become "historical." Human nature to-day is very much what it has been throughout historic time at least. Secondly, men, parties, and nations are not all black, nor all white, nor even all grey. They are piebald; or, to vary the figure, they are "good" (and bad) "in parts." It follows that you cannot sum up a man or a people or an age in a formula. Formulas are useful in history only on condition that they are not in all circumstances insisted upon. This will distress the little philosophers who carry a pocket full of labels ending in *-ist* and *-ic*; but it cannot be helped. Generalizations such as the "Dark Ages," "Mediævalism," "The Reformation," "The Industrial Revolution" must not be taken for more than they are worth.



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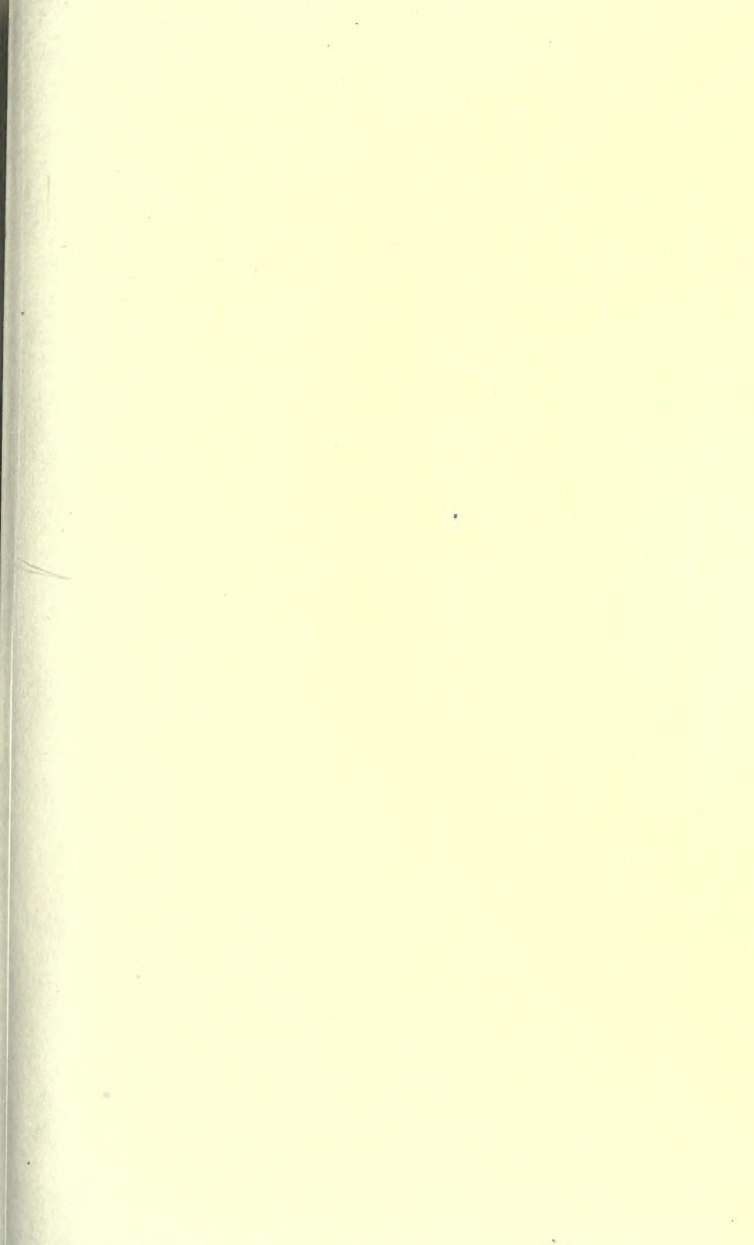
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